BUILDING AN EDITORIAL

Anthony R. Fellow

The four traditional parts of an editorial are, in the order readers encounter them:

I. Title

II. Lead or introduction

III. Body

IV. Conclusion, suspary, or appeal for action

I. TIME

1. Label Heads. This group includes those that use a simple phrase to give the subject of the editorial. Usually it is not a great attention-getter, but it does inform the reader what the editorial discusses. Some examples:

Spiritual Revival

Problem of the Aged -- RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Air Travel Milestone --LOS ANGELES TIMES

The Climate of Freedom
--SATURDAY REVIEW

Thanksgiving, U.S.A.

This Day and Our Heritage -- WASHINGTON EVENING STAR

 Summary Statement. Here the writer attempts to compress into a single sentence the message of the entire editorial. Illustrations include:

It's the Legislature's Responsibility
--ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Farmer and City Man
Should Know Each Other
--LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL

The Governor Defaults
--Now It's Up to the People
--DENVER POST

Parking Receipts Are Up: Fines and Complaints Are Down --FALMOUTE (MASS.) ENTERPRISE 3. Striking Statement. Editorial writers frequently try to come up with a striking statement. Examples of interest-argueing phrases and sentences are:

God and Lucifer

-- HALTIMORE SUR

God Hates a Coward -- OMAHA WORLD HERALD

Hurry Up and Wait
--WALL STREET JOURNAL

Bloomer Girl Regulators --BOSTON HERALD

Weather Reports Via Truckdrivers

-- WARD COUNTY INDEPENDENT, MINOT, M.D.

4. Descriptive Phrases. Some label headlines have descriptive touch that adds color or flavor. They are included in this grouping. Illustrative are:

Hybrid Cows

--MINNEAPOLIS STAR

Magpie's Hest

--YACHTING

Angeles at Midnight
-- THE NEW YORK BERALD TRIBUNE

The Man WHo Took Mom
Out of a Mother Hubbard
--LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL

Questionnaires for Preachers
--BOWLING GREEN (MISSOURI) TIMES

Quotations A quotation may describe the subject better them environ the editorial writer may think up. In that case, he does well to use the quotation, either within quotation marks or not. Examples of this are:

Lest We Forget --COLLIERS

"I am the State"
--WASHINGTON POST

"The Next Three Years" -- LIFE

The Lord Helps Those Who Help Themselves -- LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL

6. Parodies and Literary Allusions A parody on a well-known parage or an allusion to a widely known quotation may be effective. Here are some examples:

Focusing the Far East Ficture
-- SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

On the Fine Art
Of Name-Calling
--BALTIMORE SUN

Answer to the Bureaucrat's Prayer
-- NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

The House Cuts Itself a Piece of Cake -- RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

- said absolutely nathing

What This Country Needs--More Arghanistan Editorials

-STONEY (N.Y.) .ECORD-ENTERPRISE

7. Alliterations. Alliterations or other plays on words asy lend a light touch to some editorial titles and summarise others. They certainly attract attention and assess the reader. Some typical ones are:

Crisis in Caracas
-- NEW YORK TIMES

Cussed and Discussed -- DENVER POST

Billion-Dollar Blight --HARTFORD (CONNECTICUT) COURANT

Highway Horrors No. 2 --TULSA (OKLAHOMA) TRIBUNE

Toward Totalitarianism
--SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

Those Blankety Blank Blanks -- ELMER (N.J.) TIMES

Careful Cocktail for Kansas --ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCE

The Lorelei Song for Lower Prices -- PRODUCT ENGINEERING

8. Questions. The reader's interest may be aroused by a question as a title for an editorial. This device should not be blunted by overuse. Examples include:

A New Melting Pot?
--CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Free Speech For What? -- WASHINGTON FOST

Which Came First Eentucky or Bluegrass? --LOUISVILLE COURTER-JOURNAL

Must Propaganda

Be The Monopoly
Of Our Leftists?
--SATURDAY EVENING POST

 Direct Address. A direct appeal to the reader may be a successful approach for some editorials. For instance, here are some titles of that sort:

Vote Tomorrow

-- MIAMI HERALD

Kill the Ragweed Now -- PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Beware of Age Categories

Time to Watch Public Budgets DES MOINES REGISTER

This Is Your Aviation Market -- AVIATION WEEK

Let's Chop Off Those Tax Dodgers -- DENVER POST

They'll Try to Light Again, Sheriff -- ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

10. First-Person Statements Infrequently a publication may wont to emphasize its own policy or its viewpoint my making a first-person statement. Some examples are:

We Make Our Own Trouble -- CONSTRUCTION METHODS AND EQUIPMENT

We Must Be Ready to Sell -- GAS, AGE

Wa Will Not Se Intimidated
-- RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Our Schools Are What We Make Them

-- LADIES' HOME JOURNAL

Through the Red Gross
We Plan for Emerger y
-- SATURDAY EVENING POST

. II. LEAD OR INTRODUCTION

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1. News Pag Leads. This is the most commonly used type and, to most cases, the most effective way to handle the introduction. The editorial writer presents in summary what he is going to discuss. It may be speech by the president; it may be passage of a tex bill by the state legislature; it may be an automobile accident, or a football game, or a murder, or any one of a thousand news events that have been reported in recent issues of the publication.

Here are two examples of news pag leads linked to specific events, the first to a single event and the second rounding up several recent developments in allied fields:

By a 23-to-1 vote, the Board of Alderman has legalizeprefabricated steel houses, and the Lustron porcelainensmeled house in particular, for construction in St. Louis. This vote has the effect of ratifying some progressive thinking in two quarters which have not always thought progressively in the past. --ST. LOUIS FOST-DISPATCH

The announcements of two new synthetic drugs, one to cure seasickness and the other for alcoholism, within a few days of each other serve as a reminder of the rapid advances made in recent years in chemotherapy—the technical word for using chemicals to treat or provent disease.

--BALTIMORE SUM

A news peg lead may also refer to a continuing situation, such as a bill that is pending before the state legislature.

There are before the Georgia Legislature two local bills affecting Fulton County and the City of Atlanta about which there is not dispute.

These bills concern the water supply for expanding County population. -- ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

2. Inverted Leads. In variation of the news peg lead, a writer sometimes offers his aditorial reactions first and then in the body of the article refers to a fairly recent event on which his opinion is based. Two examples follow:

It is often said that one of the chief satisfactions in a teacher's life is that of preparing the next; generation to do a better job in the world than its predecessors. It might also be said that one of the chief interests of any parent is to make the world a better place for his children. In the larger sense, therefore, the inner motives of both teachers and parents who make up the public, are parallel. It simply happens that teachers are the experts to whom the parent-public has delegated major responsibility for training tomorrow's citizens?

(The editorial them argued for wage increases for District of Columbia school teachers as provided in a bill pending in Congress.)

-- WASHINGTON POST

Novadays, as everyone knows, Government is very such big business, not only the Faderal Government but state and local government too. Like any other big business, government desperately needs a supply of able administrators. Unfortunately, such men are scarce. Even the government executives who would honestly prefer to appoint an able man than a politica crony don't know where to look.

(The writer went on to suggest that governments follow the example of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in appointing a retired military man.)

--SATURDAY EVENING POST

A major variation of this technique is when the author of an argumentative editorial presents his general statement of the argument to be provided in the introductory paragraph.

3. Generalization Leads. Some nature, change-of-pace, and other editorials have no direct tie-in with current news. They are discussions of the eternal verities of life and nature. Some editorial writers disapprove of such generalizations because they feel that editorial reaction is too weak. However, some of the most highly regarded U.S. newspapers run such aditorials regularly. General editorials often require an unusual type of lead. Here is the lead from an editorial on the coming of spring;

The year holds one moment, which may last for a week, when tree and bush and vine are on the breathless verge of leafing out. It is then that you stand on a hillside and look across the wooded valley and see the scarlet and orange of maple blossoms like the touch of pastel crayon across the treetops. You see the greenish yellow in the tops of the wine-glass elms, and the amber gree fountain that is the big weeping willow beside the brook.

IV. CONCLUSION, SUMMARY OR APPEAL FOR ACTION

Straight-Away Summary.

4 . 4

This newspaper firmly believes that \$4 billion more in taxes is asked, not for debt retirement or even for budget balance, but to make spending look respectable. It is convinced that as a budget balancing or debt retirement measure, this tax lift would defeat itself. --WALL STREET JOURNAL

Quotable Ending. 2.

This community has enough teen-age problems without adding teen-age beer halls. MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

When the taxpayer sits down with his records he should keep in mind that along with the high cost of living, is is possible to enjoy the satisfaction of comparatively low cost of giving.

-- NEWS-TIMES, FOREST GROVE, OREGON

3. Appeal for Action.

It would be well, therefore, for retailers, in view of the possible emergency ahead, to give greater attention to forward buying, especially of basic lines they know they will need. This will justify manufacturers' increasing their supplies of materials and be in a better and were prompt position to meet the delivery requirements of retailers.

-- ARTHUR I. MILLIN, signed editorial LUGGAGE AND LEATHER GOODS

With this information at hand, it occurred to us that the FTA is ideally situated to spensor such a project for the coming year -- or years -- in Madison.

-- MESSENGER, MADISON, S.C.

HOW TO WRITE EDITORIALS

The Dana Formula

Charles A. Dana of the old New York Sum had his opinions on good editorial writers. Such a person, he said in essence, knows how to gratify the universal human appetits for information that entertains while it instructs. He knows how to write forcefully so that all men will read, and simply so that all will understand; to be emphatic without exaggerating and denunciatory without being vituperative; to have an independence that is animated by honest purposes and guided by common se , to cherish sympathy for every honest manifestation of human activity; to have unpurchasable honor, a will to serve, courage that cannot be shaken by fear, and nd vision to lead

- Determine with a great degree of care the specific purpose of your editorial. Seldom can you make more than one point in a 300-word editorial and do it effectively.
- Gather as much data as you can on the topic. It's fer hetter to have too much than too little. (Too much can also be tad if it slows down your research unduly or buries your ideas on the subject.)

What are your sources of information? Background files, for one. Organizational histories, for another. And also:

- --organizational executives through inquiry, suggestion, or by direct order.
- --your "futures file" of upcoming events.
- -- current events as reported in newspaper, magazines, trade journals, speeches, other media.
- --letters from readers. Some editors build their entire editorial page around letters from editors and often with considerable success. They are usually most effective when the questions are answered unfailingly and without equivocation.
- --your personal contacts and research.
- --other "thought leaders" in business, industry, and government.
- Organize the material. You must concentrate on the relevant; weed out the irrelevant. Constantly ask yourself about each item in this culling process: Will it make things clearer? More effective? More colorful? More vital? Will it shed new light or a new point of view on the subject? Will it appeal to my reader?

Arrange the topics in logical order. Here is where a formula can come into play. There are many ways of presenting éditorials, of course, and all undoubtedly have their place. But one three-part method seems to dominate:

First, you state your stand as vividly and emphatically as you can.

Then you elaborate on your reasons for making such a statument.

Finally you re-state your stand in words particularly hard to forget.

Write the editorial. In writing an editorial it is not enough to have good editorial ideas supported or suggested by management; the ideas must be vividly presented and with a mental glue that sticks. Nor is it enough to have all the prime facts. They must be marshalled powerfully and compellingly. Even your grammar has to be more than just correct. It should be daring, diverting, entertaining, inspiring.

The target for every word and idea is the individual reader. You may have thousands of readers, but reading is not done on mass. Reading is an individual matter between you, the writer, and this single reader. And the underlying motive inspiring this reader to read your editorial is self-interest.

You must establish rapport at the beginning and immediately prove that your topic is both pertinent and important.

Once you've captured the reader's attention you shackle cit through the normal arts of journalism -- vividness of markation and description; conciseness, touches of humor, clarity, novelty of express. And, perhaps above all, firm evidence of your sincerity.

THE EDITORIAL PARAGRAPH

Editorial paragraphs may be identified by their brevity and epigrammatic structure. The best of them are no more than 20 to 30 words long which briefly restate some news fact or news event and make a quip or comment about the event. The comment may be brights, withy thought tersely and ingeniously expressed; it may be a pun, or it may be amusing or humorous because of the statement's incongruity, because of the juxtaposition of contrasting elements, because of exaggeration, or because of some other method of eliciting humor.

Rufus Terral of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch defined it as "a spitball lovingly fired out of a rubber band, a tack placed thoughtfully in a chair." Then went on: "It should present an idea to the reader in a way in which he would not have thought of it for himself. Perhaps the light you shine on it will be the light that shines on the other side of Alice-in-Wonderland's looking-glass. Or perhaps it will be just a brighter-then-usual light of ordinary day."

Some Examples

The thing that makes gerald L.K. Smith's doctrine of white supremacy hardest to swallow is that Gerald K. Smith is supposed to be some sort of example of it. 3t. Louis Post-Disputch

(Hot Stove League

Speaking of newspapers and journalists, we note without common Wassbacck. Pegler's current charge that Drew Pearson and Walter Windsell stand shelp appy said assassinate characters. New York Post

(Never Is A Short Time

The other day we were slightly unsettled by a truck sign. The sign advertised a product called "Neva-Rust." Underneath came the shocker-"Guaranteed Not to Rust for Six Years." T.C. Du Mont in Materials & Methods

Million-Dollar Thinking

Limited by an authorized \$750,000 and balked by the voters' failure a year ago to approve additional bonds, Miami Beach, now plans to build its auditorium in several stages. One way or another, the Beach Council keeps thinking of it as a million-dollar idea--or more. Miami Hearld

Not Like Jesse James

No wonder the FBI failed to find Martin Dembin after a 16-year search. He was on the list of the 10 most-wanted criminals, but when he gave himself up in New York, it was learned that he had been making a living at the peaceful art of hooking rugs. He was a tired, beaten bank robber, and dodging the FBI for so long had given him stomach ulcers. Cleveland Press

Types of Editorial Paragraphs

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1. Puns or Plays on Words.

To be worth your salt on any job you must have pepper. Morrisons Cove Herald

The crop of tropical hurricanes this season apparently will be bumper. South Bend Tribune

No matter what other effect it has, American influence on world affairs is leaving is \$ mark. Passaic Hearld News

Those who insist on government playing the Great White Father shouldn't get so blue when they're asked to shell out the long green. New York World Telegram Sun

The former editor of the humor magazine at Pitt turns to a life of thievery, and what a painful paint has been since he stole his first joke. Bill Vaughan in Kansas City Star

Parodies.

Some people get up bright and early, some just early. The Hotel Mouthly

The fourth of July isn't and never was what it used to be. Lake County Banner

It's a small world, all right, and there are some small people in it. Boston Daily Globe

There's nothing against a man tooting his own horn, if he's in tune. Minneapolis Star

Too many guys and gals are looking at the world through rose-colored cocktait glasses. Mcloud Monitor

Signs of the times: Polite saying now is "Thanks a billion!" A million doesn't mean a thing. Edmonds Tribune

3. Epigrams.

Bow ties are like dachshunds-you can't be neutral about them. Buffalo Evening News

A little flattery now and then makes husbands out of single men. Fredericksburg

"History teaches us-" says the incurable optimist, thereby differing from the cynic who says, "Here we go again." Buffalo Evening News

Life would be a little easier if folks didn't spend so much money for things they don't need to impress people they don' like. Nance County Journal

Comes now the trying season in which one must endeavor to remember what Aunt Hepzibah sent for Christmas last year so one will not send it back to her this year. Memphis Commercial Appeal

A guy who is always cracking wise tales told me the other day that he knows what everybody is doing in Craig, but he buys an Empire-Courier each week to see if they've been caught at it! Craig Empire-Courier

4 Ouotations with Comments.

"A penny saved is a penny earned" - but what can you do with it? Sleepy Eye Herald-Dispatch

It is said that civilization has failed. We didn't know it had been tried. Fillmore Herald

The old expression of something being dirt cheap has no reference to a modern building lot. Miami Herald

It's a down east justice who finds that poker playing by women is not a crime. Other judges have gone farther and held it isn't poker. Denver Post

One of those surveys designed to show he stupid everybody is discloses that many American students think W.L. Mackenzie King was a Canadian hockey players. No. No! He was the Canadian who wasn't a hockey player. Hartford Courant

A corresponding friend, namely John M. Henry of the Des Moines Register-Tribune, is co-author of a good book on "How to Write Columns." But all of the tips aren't applicable to a small-town columnist where all one needs to do to keep on edge is "drink lots of coffee where several flirtatious waitresses are on duty." Holyrood Gazette

You Can't Please Everyone

Getting out a paper is no picnic.

If we print jokes, people say we are silly; if we don't they say we are too serious. If we clip things from other newspapers, we are too lazy to write them ourselves; if we don't, we are too fond of our own stuff.

If we don't print contributions, we don't appreciate true genius; if we do print them, the paper is filled with junk.

If we make changes n other fellow's write up, we are too critical; if we don't, we are asleep.

Now, like as not, someone will say we swiped this from some other newspaper. We did. University Times

The Silencing of a General

Dugan's firing was inevitable but nonetheless worrisome

The unfortunate Gen. Michael J. Dugan is to serve no longer as the Air Force chief of staff because of his unauthorized disclosures to reporters from The Times and The Washington Post.

Those disclosures included tidbits about U.S. bombing options targeting President Saddam Hussein, his family, his palace guard and even his alleged mistress, plus wideranging comments about the Persian Gulf standoff.

Furious, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, backed by President Bush, took offense and assessed Dugan's remarks as misconduct serious enough to compel the chief's dismissal.

There's no question about the primacy of the President

and his delegated assistants to speak with one foreign policy voice, especially in the circumstances of a knife-edged military confrontation, must be upheld. And the tradition of civil control over the military must always be observed, in peace or in war.

But it is nonetheless sad to witness a long and distinguished military career so abruptly and painfully terminated. It is also a bit discomforting to have a military man so severely admonished for conduct that on one level is not much more heinous than the crime of excessive candor.

The surprising openness of U.S. military commanders with the press corps in Saudi

Arabia has probably been nipped in the bud.

That's unfortunate because the cleverly controlled public information policy of the Bush Administration sometimes makes the White House of the Reagan Administration look amateurish and even casual by comparison.

Policy pronouncements are held by such a tight cluster of officials that, while leaks are undoubtedly minimized, the free flow of information is also slowed to a trickle.

For those Americans who remember how inadequate the public debate was preceding the huge buildup of American forces in Vietnam, the silencing of a general is no occasion for rejoicing.

Courting a Credibility Problem

9/17/90

New study makes a compelling case for more civil-court judges

An ancient ritual among people who enjoy the protection of even the most primitive system of law is poking fun at the system. The Romans had a saying, "The more law, the less justice." But, joking aside, the current state of the civil courts in Los Angeles County is simply no laughing matter.

A new RAND Corp. study shows a congealing of movement of civil cases in Superior Court that should alarm anyone worried about making our justice system work. For there is little difference in a society based on constitutional rights between the consequences of a loss of respect for the law and a loss of faith in it.

Some statistics tell the story dramatically.

Since 1970, the number of plaintiffs who have been willing to wait for a trial rather than settle out of court or drop a case altogether has plunged by

more than half and is lower than in many other states. In that same time, civil case filings have doubled, and the time it takes to actually get into court has grown to nearly five years. There are more judges than in 1970, but Los Angeles still needs 106 more just to keep the backlog of cases from growing next year. On top of that, the county would need 66 temporary judges or commissioners to spend two years dealing with backlogged cases.

The RAND study, one of many valuable ones it has produced on public institutions in recent years, says that improved management of cases has helped but that more improvements are possible.

One existing experiment directed by the state Legislature is "fast track" management, where one judge moves a case from start to finish, much like the federal system. The fast-track style is being tested in Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego counties. RAND now proposes adding other experiments, including having judges spend more time at the outset on cases likely to go to trial and less on those likely to be settled.

Lawyers maneuvering for tactical advantage also contribute to delays. But the most important reason for what RAND calls a "severe" problem is another law entirely: that of supply and demand. There is too large a demand for court services and too small a supply of judges.

Much of the burden of financing Superior courts has been shifted to Sacramento in recent years. In one sense, the judicial shortage is just another reason to review priorities for allocating scarce resources.

This is not a question to be taken lightly because, in a very real sense, confidence in the legal system is a condition of faith in society.

It's too soon to ease S. Africa sanctions

When South African President F.W. de Klerk arrives at the White House today, his reception won't be as momentous or as emotional as Nelson Mandela's was last June.

That's because President Bush is consumed with concerns in other parts of the world, particularly Iraq, and attention to sanctions there may be overshadowing similar action the USA took against South Africa in 1986.

But this visit is important to the USA. South African blacks are dying every day. The white minority denies blacks political power and the right to live freely. The visit is important to de Klerk, too, one he deserves — and needs.

He deserves it because he has shown the courage to begin the process of ending apartheid, his country's brutal system of racial segregation; to open public facilities to all races; to free, after 27 years in prison, African National Congress leader Mandela.

He needs it because internal problems at home — vicious fighting between black tribesmen and mounting evidence of involvement of white extremists in the civil strife — are undermining his efforts to forge a black-white democracy.

Some, including the writer across the page, say that we can help de Klerk by lifting economic sanctions to reward him for the progress he has made so far.

There's no question de Klerk has made progress. But that shows the sanctions are working. Lifting them now would remove the incentive for totally dismantling apartheid.

This is no time to let up because although South African blacks represent more than 80% of the population, they still lack the right to vote on national affairs, the right to own property and the right to decide where they can live.

This is no time to let up because when Congress passed the sanctions law, it set five pre-conditions for lifting them. So far, South Africa has met two of them. It has lifted the ban on opposition groups and loosened restrictions on free expression. It still must free all political prisoners, lift the state of emergency in all areas, and end the requirement for blacks to register with the government by race.

This is no time to let up because now that the euphoria over Mandela's release has subsided, the extreme difficulties of changing years of repression and forging a blackwhite partnership are being felt by both sides.

De Klerk has his troubles with right-wing whites opposed to his action. And he must answer serious questions of whether his security forces are involved in the violence.

Mandela has his problems trying to control the black violence. Chief rival, Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has demanded a meeting with Mandela to discuss the violence and to raise Buthelezi's profile in the peace process.

Complicating the situation is Winnie Mandela's scheduled court appearance today on kidnapping and assault charges in connection with the death of a black teenager.

Like it or not, both Mandela and de Klerk are now inextricably in this together. One cannot make peace and equality a reality without the other.

The USA must help to keep that relationship strong by refusing to lift the sanctions and by continuing support for both South Africans. Then, together, they can lead the way to peace and democracy for all of their people.

Greenmen

Drop the push for capital gains tax cut

For two years, President Bush and Congress have been telling us we've got to do something about the budget deficit.

They're doing something all right. They're watching it grow: from \$68 billion to \$232 billion just this year.

Right now, they may be closer than ever to putting together a combination of spending cuts and tax hikes that would reduce the crippling federal budget deficits.

But President Bush, as you can read in the column across this page, insists on cutting the capital gains tax, the tax on investment profits, as part of any deficit-reduction package.

Never mind that no one has put together a formula yet that would do much to erase the budget deficit.

Never mind that cutting the tax could make the deficit worse, not better.

And never mind that economists disagree whether a capital gains tax cut really would stimulate the economy.

Of eight analyses of lower capital gains taxes reviewed by the Congressional Budget Office, five concluded it is not likely to increase savings or investments very much.

President Bush ought to drop the proposal. It's an issue for another day. Right now, it is holding up progress while the meter keeps running up higher budget deficits.

The president has been crusading to cut the tax for 25 years — since he was a young congressman from Texas.

Now, that crusade could sink the budget summit with congressional leaders that the president called in May

If we can negotiate an arms reduction with Mikhail Gorbachev, then our president and our Congress ought to be able to negotiate a deficit reduction.

They can't expect average income people to pay higher taxes for energy, air travel, alcohol, and tobacco, then go along with tax giveaways to the wealthy.

The deficit is pushing the country toward a recession. And keeping interest rates so high that people can't buy homes, or cars. Banks are falling into financial trouble. The cost of bailing out the savings and loans is going up.

In 11 days, severe across-the-board budget cuts kick in. Somebody has to take charge. Somebody needs to lead.

Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan says interests rates would fall if the president and members of Congress could agree on a real deficit-reduction package soon. That could boost housing construction and revive the stock market and even increase exports.

President Bush and Congress must come up with a comprehensive, fair plan that balances spending cuts and tax increases, including the upper rates of the income tax, to stop these deficits from destroying our economy.

Curtailing deficit spending won't be easy now, with the economy so weak, the expense of keeping peace in the Mideast and oil prices rising. Not to mention the congressional elections just around the corner.

There may be economic reasons for granting tax breaks for profits on the sale of stocks and bonds. But it should never be done for political reasons.

The budget deficit meter has to be stopped. It's hurting us

all, rich and poor.

Forget about cutting taxes for the wealthy and get on with cutting the deficit for us all.

When Films Are Too Adult for an R

New category might serve moviegoers better than going directly to dreaded X

There's increasing unhappiness with the movie industry's current system for rating movies.

The problem is that somewhere between R- and X-rated movies are films that are too adult for an R but are hardly in the "Debbie Does Dallas" class. It's probably time for a category between R (Restricted: Under 17 requires accompanying parent or adult guardian) and X (no one under 17 admitted).

The Motion Picture Assn. of America created the ratings system in 1968 to replace the outdated and prudish Hays Code, established in 1924. Though the present system is entirely voluntary, it is a major improvement. However, one unintended result is that exhibitors nationwide are reluctant to show an unrated film.

This forces some directors to cut out footage that technically qualifies the film for an X when in fact

"Debbie" actually never really gets much past Cincinnati. Thus a new category—say an AR, for Adult Restricted—would serve the purpose of alerting moviegoers that the film may have gamy scenes without forcing those scenes to be excised or branded with the scarlet letter of an X.

Today, the X rating has become synonymous with pornography; TV and newspapers, including this one, will not take advertising for X-rated films.

Jack Valenti, president of the association and creator of the present ratings system, opposes a new category between R and X. He maintains that the purpose of a rating system is to provide parents with guidance for taking their young children to the movies.

He says that surveys done annually for the last decade indicate nearly three-fourths of parents with young children find the ratings useful. He maintains that a new Adult category would compel the ratings board to make judgments on artistic merit, which it has never done before.

The current system, however, leaves little choice for studios and producers. Since an X-rating today is the kiss of death at the box office, producers typically are contractually bound to edit their films until they qualify for a more acceptable R rating. Indeed, much of the R-rated category consists of films originally intended strictly for adults.

Creating a new category would hardly be unprecedented. In 1984 the MPAA added PG-13 to accommodate Steven Spielberg's "Indiana Jones & the Temple of Doom." It was initially deemed too violent for preteens. An AR-rated film would simply alert adults that the film is for them—and no one else.

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hfrn

9-23-90

As Oklahoma Goes, So Goes. . .?

Term limitations could produce a near-revolution in politics

A dozen years ago California voters passed Proposition 13, the property tax-limitation initiative, setting in motion a taxpayer revolt that swept across the country. Now, Oklahoma voters, by a 2-1 margin, have made their state the first to limit the number of years a legislator may serve. Such measures will be prominent on the November ballots in Colorado and California. Is the Oklahoma vote an omen of things to come?

Political opinion on that is typically divided. In California, opponents of the two initiatives to limit terms of state officeholders say they doubt that the Oklahoma vote will significantly influence opinion. Supporters of the measures, not surprisingly,

see it as reinforcing a swelling sense that term limitation is an idea whose time has come. Probably all would agree with California Senate President Pro Tem David A. Roberti (D-Los Angeles), an opponent of term limits, who acknowledges the national dimensions of the limitation movement.

Nothing is more calculated to make a professional politician's blood run cold than the prospect of being limited by law, and not just voter preference, to a finite term of service. But it's not just politicians who recoil from term limitation measures. Many see any abridgement of voters' rights to reelect officeholders as many times as they want as a blow to democratic princi-

ple. Of course, if voters themselves freely choose to abridge that right, the argument becomes moot.

The Oklahoma measure, to take effect Jan. 1, limits an individual's lifetime service in the state Legislature to 12 years. California's Propositions 131 and 140, though they conflict to some degree, would among other things set term limits for nearly all state elective offices, in the Legislature and in the Executive Braneh.

Does this week's vote in Oklahoma presage a more sweeping approach in California? We'll know on Nov. 6, when voters make decisions that could produce a near-revolutionary transformation of the state's political land-scape.



ALS of THE TIMES

9-22-9D

Give the Baby to the Genetic Parents

Orange County surrogate case finds the courts deeply involved again

Until the birth of "Baby Boy Johnson," born to a woman who contracted with a couple to carry their embryo to term, the legal arguments over his custody seemed only theoretical. Now they are not. Now there's a 3-day-old baby-who was two weeks early, has brownish hair and weighs 6 pounds-10 ouncesneeding not only a name and a birth certificate, but a good home in which to grow and mature. Setting aside for the moment the wisdom of their judgment to hire a surrogate in the first place, the couple should be given custody by the court.

At the least for the moment, that is what Orange County Superior Court Judge Richard N. Parslow Jr. has decided to do. He says that until a temporary custody hearing next Thursday, the baby belongs with the couple, Crispina and Mark Calvert, who paid Anna L. Johnson \$10,000 to

be a surrogate. Johnson later accused the Calverts of failing to fulfill on all their promises and sued for custody. That catapulted the agreement squarely into the middle of a legal quagmire over surrogate parenting that previously had reached a pinnacle with the "Baby M" case, in which the surrogate mother provided the egg. The "Baby Boy Johnson" case is the first in the nation in which a surrogate staked a legal claim to a baby that wasn't genetically hers.

The case has careened through the media from week to week. Johnson, a single mother, one week pleaded guilty to welfare fraud. At another point, she said she was part Indian, which could make the child subject to the Indian Child Welfare Act. Still later, she said she thought the baby might be from her egg, after all, due to some error during implantation.

But preliminary blood tests indicate

that the baby is the Calverts'; DNA tests will settle the matter once and for all. The real issue seems to be not the child's genetic heritage but something outside the realm of science. Johnson says she unexpectedly became emotionally attached to the baby she was carrying and doesn't want to completely give him up. She has indicated she cares about him by recommending to the judge that the Calverts—rather than a foster home—keep him until next week.

Previously, the courts stepped in to protect the baby, forbidding the participants in the case to give pictures of him to the media and requiring money earned from publicity to be put into a trust fund for him.

That good judgment should be followed by another. The Calverts, assuming they are the true genetic parents, should be given permanent custody as soon as possible.

Medical

A Church, A School --

Dynamite in great quantity Sunday ripped a beautiful Temple of worship in Atlanta. It followed hard on the heels of a like destruction of a handsome high school at Clinton, Tenn.

The same rabid, mad-dog minds were, without question, behind both. They also are the source of previous bombings in Florida, Alabama and South Carolina. The school house and the church are the targets of diseased, hate-filled minds...

Ralph McGill Atlanta Constitution—Pulitzer winner

Justice 'Blind-and Gagged

This country may be moving toward secret trials. U.S. Supreme Court

Justice Harry A. Blackmun's ruling in a Nebraska mass number case points in that
direction.

Justice Blackmur, upholding in part a "gag" order imposed by a Nebraska judge, decided taht courts may forbid the news media to report confessions and other incriminating evidence before the trial even though such information has been disclosed at a public hearing...

Philip Kerby Los Angeles Times-Pulitzer winner

9-27

Memo to McKinney

The road was dusty, and the small black boy strained under the weight of the bucket he was carrying. He had brought it more than two blocks from the fountain that was provided "as a courtesy," the sign told us. Three to five times a week the child makes the trip.

The child lives in a house 18 feet by 24 feet along with three other people.

On several of the open windows there are no screens.

There is no front door at all.

Sunlight comes through the roof in two places.

The child and his family share with another family the outhouse in the backyard.

Not only is ther an lavatory in thouse, there is no tub, shower or hot water supply.

The siding on the house had deteriorated, the chimney needed replacing, the foundation was out of level.

The water lapped over the side of the bucket as the child stepped up a concrete block into the house.

Now, Mayor McKinney, that's a third to a fifth of the family's weekly supply of water.

To drink.

And that family lives in the Northeast section, within the city limits, of Gainesville, Fla., and they pay \$5 a week rent. That Florida's "Unilversity City," Center of Science, Education and Medicine.

Now tell us again, Mayor McKinney, as you have since last August, that a minimum housing code for Gainesville is unnecessary ...

John R. Harrison Gainesville Sun-Pulitizer winner When Hitler came to power it was estimated that the army included 250,000 highly trained troops instead of the 100,000 permitted by the (Versailles) treaty...

In retrospect it is evident that all the policies adopted do make Germany a peaceful, good neighbor were vitiated by one fundamental mistake. That mistake was the assumption that a peace-loving German nation had been forced into war against its will by a wicked government...

The mistakes of the post-war years are obvious. How to avoid similar mistakes in the future involves problems of immense difficulty. But certainly we must build on a foundation free from the fundamental error that followed that last war...

MIDTERM EDITORIAL CRITIQUE

You will be assigned a classmate's editorial to critique. Your job in evaluating the editorial is to determine if it follows the rules of good editorial writing discussed in class and in the readings.

- Read the editorial and on the copy, correct errors in granusar, panetacaion, A.P. style, etc.
- Evaluate the editorial using the checklist provided. Circle what you consider the strong and weak points of the editorial.
- Then, prepare a two-page typewritten evaluation of the editorial. It should focus on the following:
 - a. Mechanics of language and style: Is it properly punctuated, carefully revised and edited for grammar and A.P. style?
 - b. Content:
 - (1) Title: What type of title is used? Is it offective? How could it be improved?
 - (2) Lend: Is the subject of editorial clearly stated? What is the exortium, narrative and partition of the editorial? Is the order of pressulation effective? Does the conclusion follow from the arguments? Is the conclusion explicitly stated.
 - (3) Techniques of persuasion: Are fallacies of logic avoided? Which fallacies are evident? Is repetition used effectively? Is the tops or approach effective?
 - (4) Permasive Ability: Does it illuminate the subject or issue? Does it take a stance, . a reasonable solution, etc.? Does it indicate the reasons for the views expressed? Is it likely to reinforce or change attitudes? Does it have something to say?
 - (5) Use of evidence: Are appropriate sources used? What other sources could have been used? You must go to the library and use citations from some of the materials introduced at the last session of class. Give title, date and index of article. Try to cite at least three other sources.

Cystais

Another Election Rerun: Your Unchallenged Congress

almost impossible to defeat an incumbent member of Congress. To be fair, that's not all bad. California voters have learned that in recent years as key members of the state's 45-person House delegation have garnered the political clout that comes with seniority on Capitol Hill.

But it's not all to the good, either. It makes for a Congress that is perceived by many citizens as unresponsive, aloof and maybe even elitist. It makes for members of Congress who are locked into cozy relationships with the special-interest groups that so generously donate to their campaign coffers.

The public interest lobby Common Cause, for example, reports that the 405 House members seeking reelection this year have raised more than \$177 million to run for reelection, while all their challengers have raised less than \$15 million. That kind of financial imbalance makes even weak incumbents well-nigh invincible.

Yet despite the fact many incumbents can hold seats in Congress until they die or walk away from them, that hasn't made them more farsighted or courageous. On the contrary, many members of Congress seemingly become paranoid about losing a nice job with so many perks. They become fearful of angering key interest groups or constituents. The result in Washington is political gridlock like that seen on the federal budget deficit. The result at home is growing voter disaffection and frustration.

But barring a political earthquake like federal term limits, nothing is going to shake up Southern California's congressional delegation this year. The advantages of incumbency are too great—not just the money and visibility, but districts designed through reapportionment to be as safe as possible.

That is why The Times has decided to be even more selective in its endorsements than in the recent past. For some time now we have not endorsed in every congressional race in Southern California, or even Los Angeles. This year we endorse in only two.

That's not to say there are not local members of Congress doing a commendable job on Capitol Hill. Indeed, as noted above, the advantages of seniority—and the fact that most in Los Angeles County are Democrats and thus members of the House

THE CONGRESSIONAL
BOTTOM LINE:

405 House members seeking reelection this year have raised more than \$177 million to campaign.

All their challengers together have raised less than \$15 million.

majority—have put several in key positions where they've had an impact on national policy and local issues.

Among them are Anthony C. Beilenson of Los Angeles, chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence; Edward Roybal of Los Angeles, who chairs the House Select Committee on Aging: Howard Berman of Panorama City, who serves on the Foreign Affairs and Judiciary committees; Mel Levine of Santa Monica, a member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee; Julian Dixon of Los Angeles, who chairs the House Ethics Committee: Glenn Anderson of San Pedro, who has brought many federal benefits to the Los Angeles-Long Beach Harbor, and Henry Waxman of Los Angeles, who led the fight for a Clean Air Bill and on key health issues like AIDS treatment and research. A Republican in a similarly important position is Jerry Lewis, of Redlands, ranking minority member on the House Appropriations subcommittee.

Not one of these men faces a serious electoral challenge this year, so endorsing them is not an issue. Let it simply be noted that they are valuable lawmakers who by and large are making very positive contributions to the democratic process.

The two local congressional races where we are endorsing are in districts east of Los Angeles.

In San Bernardino and Riverside counties, veteran Rep. George E. Brown Jr., a Democrat, is facing only the latest challenge the Republican party has waged against him. That's because Brown's 36th Congressional District is a suburban area that, by most reckonings, should vote Republican. His opponent this year is San Bernardino County Supervisor Robert L. Hammock, a practical and moderate Republican. But Brown is usually reelected because of the service he's rendered as a member of the House's Science, Space and Technology Committee. His support for scientific research benefits not only his district but all California. He deserves another term.

The same cannot be said for the incumbent in the San Gabriel Valley's 30th Congressional District. Democratic Rep. Matthew (Marty) Martinez is an embarrassment whose lack of achievement in Congress has been chronicled by publications as disparate as trendy Spy Magazine and the staid Almanac of American Politics. That's why we recommend that district voters cast their ballots for Reuben Franco, an energetic young businessman who describes himself as a "Jack Kemp" Republican. Martinez can argue that a political neophyte will wield nowhere near the influence for the 30th District that an incumbent does-except that by almost everyone's account Martinez has done little of any significance since being elected in 1982. The 1990 Almanac tellingly dismisses him as "close to a zero in terms of activity or influence." The people of the 30th District can't do much worse than that by electing Franco.

Best Kind of Housing

Yes on Los Angeles Measure K; no on Measure A

Two local measures deal with housing—one for low-income families and one for prisoners. The Times supports one and opposes the other.

PROPOSITION K: In a major earthquake, there are thousands of substandard brick apartment buildings that will shake like mad. Bricks will fall and floors will pancake. About 15,000 working-class families and poor senior citizens live in these unsafe apartments and single-room-occupancy hotels in Los Angeles.

Proposition K, a \$100-million general obligation bond on the Nov. 6 ballot, would provide low-interest loans to nonprofit developers to buy and reinforce the seismically unsafe buildings and preserve the very low rents. It deserves a yes vote.

Homeless families would also benefit from \$10 million allocated for transitional housing, an important bridge from a homeless shelter to independence. Another \$10 million would open the door of homeownership to first-time buyers who earn \$30,00 or less. They would get low-interest second mortgages to provide "gap" financing that modest-income families need in this pricey market.

Proposition K also would provide a boost to the local economy. There is a multiplier effect to housing that translates into jobs and purchases. The measure is endorsed by realtors, tenants, homeless advocates and 250 downtown businesses located near Skid Row. Red Cross officials and paramedics who would respond to a major earthquake also strongly support Proposition K.

The local bond issue would have no impact on the city's overall credit rating, according to Keith Comrie, the city administrative officer. The average homeowner would pay about \$5, less than two pennies a day—a small price to pay to save lives and homes.

Proposition K (near the bottom of the ballot) requires a two-thirds vote. A yes vote will improve public safety and preserve much-needed affordable housing.

PROPOSITON A: Overcrowding in Los County's jails and juvenile detention facilities is a serious problem that

is growing worse. Proposition A control the Nov. 6 ballot is a well-intentioned attempt to address the situation. Unfortunately, both the solution it proposes (a program of jail construction) and the method it would use to finance it (an increase in the sales tax) are unsuitable to the task.

For those reasons, voters should reject Proposition A.

The gloomy statistical outlines the problem suggest the frustration that drove the measure's sponsors to propose it. Over the past decade, the cost of housing the county's prisoners has risen from \$76 million per year to \$348 million, a 458% increase. The county's jails, which were built house 15,592 inmates, now he 25,592, and the number grows with each passing year.

Proposition A proposes to solve the problem by spending \$423 million proposes for the next 30 years to build new jails to house an inmate population estimated at a staggering 42,2. The money for all this would confrom a special half-cent increase the sales tax, the proceeds of white will be disbursed at the complete discretion of a five-member boat consisting of the sheriff and for supervisorial appointees.

Supporters of the measure say the some of the funds will go for crimp prevention and community organizing and counseling programs, though nothing in the measure specifies any amount or program.

In fact, given the political and legal pressures for additional jail space, it is doubtful any significant amount will go for anything else. Worse, even the measure's supporters concede that the new facilities will be overcrowded by the time they are built and that no sites for them are currently available.

What this measure proposes, then, is the continuation of an costly crime-fighting strategy whose inadequacy, already is clear. Further, it proposes to finance it with a regressive taking which, because of state limits on the amount of sales tax counties can impose, would eliminate half of the critical and productive funds for public transit sought in Proposition C.

WHAT IS INTERPRETATIVE WRITING?

Sometimes in-depth stories are confused with interpretative articles, but the two differ in structure and in prupose. News stories, features, and in-depth and in-breadth articles assemble the facts to let the reader know what is going on. Essentially, they answer the question of what. True, any one of these types of journalistic literature may provide some explanation and background, but the purpose of each is to add to the reader's store of knowledge.

The interpretative article is primarily explanatory, and its purpose is to answer the question of why. The interpretative article puts the news in context-background is used to tell what led up to the news event, evaluation is used to describe its significance, and probable results are given to complete the context.

An in-depth story puts the news components together -- it synthesizes many facts. An interpretative article, on the other hand, analyzes the facts--it is dissects them.

Writers of news stories, features, and in-depth and in-breadth articles sometimes present the evaluations of other persons--experts and authorities--but they should not inject their own appraisals. If they do, they are guilty of writing opinion stories.

The interpretative writer, supposedly an expert because of his training, experience and knowledge of the subject, often makes his own evaluations. This has become the point of controversy.

The interpretative writer supposedly bases his evaluations on his wide background and knowledge of the subject just as a physician bases his diagnosis and prognosis of a disease on his training and knowledge of the subject.

The task of the interpretative writer is to help the reader to understand the full import of an event, but he should not attempt to mold public opinion. That is the editorial writers job.

Unless he has expert knowledge about a subject, a reporter should not try to interpret it. It would be ridiculous, for instance, for a reporter who has never covered city hall or the local political machinery to write an interpretative article on local politics. It would be equally ridiculous for a reporter who has never covered the schools to write an interpretative article about the troubles of school finance.

It is conceivable, though still unlikely, that a reporter who has covered neither beat might be assigned to write an in-depth article on either subject, for his assignment in that case would be to get the facts, assemble them, and present the evaluations of others; his own judgments would not be involved.

Bascially, the interpretative article is composed of a reference to a recent news event, background, the significance of the event and the probable consequences. Explanation is interspersed.

Background should provide the reader with an understanding of why an event took place. The writer does not necessarily have to rely on his own evaluation of the significance of the event. He can quote authorities. Frequently, some form of general attribution is used, such as, "Many Washington political leaders believe the measure will increase inflation instead of curb it."

Often, too, the predictions of authorities other than the writer can be used to indicate probable consequences.

The following New York Times article by Harold M. Schmeck Jr. reveals some of the qualities and peculiarities of interpretative writing.

(LEON)

WASHINGTON—Doctors who treat more than a million adults with mild diabetes face a problem this summer that most cannot solve independently.

Many of the patients have been worried by fragmentary reports on the same subject.

Reference to news At issue is whether or not the doctors should continue to give their patients oral antidiabetes pills to help keep the disease under control. Most doctors who face that question do not have the facts to decide the issue for themselves. They must accept, largely on faith, one or two sharply divergent points of view.

Background

One holds that the pills do no real good and may, over the years, actually shorten the lives of some patients.

The other holds that the pills are safe and effective.

Both the American and British Diabetes Associations have issued cautious statements indicating that the evidence to date does not warrant changes in practice by doctors using the drug.

Fortunately it is not an immediately urgent problem. There is no suggestion of any short-term danger from the drugs; only a question of their usefulness and safety over many years.

Expert quoted Explanation

One expert has called them drugs of convenience.

The pills are an unquestionable convenience in helping mild diabetics control their blood sugar level without the need for injections. Furthermore, many diabetics find it difficult to maintain proper diets. Thus, the pills have served a real purpose for those diabetics not dependent on insulin.

But the pills have often been prescribed simply on the ground that they cannot do any harm and may be doing some good. Both of these points are now subject to serious question.

Explanation

The drugs, of which tolbutamide is the most common, have been in wide use here and abroad for more than a decade, primarily for mild adult cases of the disease in patients who find it difficult to keep their condition properly under control by diet.

Background and explanation

The new uncertainty has arisen because of a major study that has cast serious doubt on the drugs' usefulness, and because the conclusions of that study have been attacked. The problem is sharpened for the average doctor because the full report of the study is not yet available. Furthermore, the argument often turns on complex points of statistics far removed from the ordinary concerns of medical practice.

(Another paragraph of background followed)

Background

The issue came to a focus a week ago at the annual meeting of the American Diabetes Association in St. Louis, but many participants said later it was not likely to be resolved in a way useful to the average doctor, or his patient, for months, perhaps for years.

The study, conducted at 12 university medical centers and clinics, began almost 10 years ago when the oral anti-

diabetic drugs were relatively new.

The study is called the University Group Diabetes Program. More than 800 patients have been involved, most of them for more than eight years. The purpose was to test whether the oral drugs or insulin could help prevent the long-term complications that are the main hazard for mild diabetics whose disease appears in adulthood. These are blindness, heart disease and other disorders of the circulatory system.

Background

It was not expected at the outset that the study would reveal any differences in death rates among patients treated with the oral drugs and otherwise, but such differences did appear after the study had been in progress for several years. The statistics showed that patients who had been taking tolbutamide, the earliest of the oral drugs, were not doing as well as patients who were using insulin or were merely dieting.

The study group found significantly more deaths from heart and circulatory system disease among those who had been using tolbutamide than in any of the other groups of patients. The difference was so marked that the 50 doctors involved in the huge study decided to halt use of that drug

last year. The rest of the study is continuing.

Explanation

The present sharp debate has arisen over the significance of the study group's findings. For doctors the issue is complicated because the facts are available to most only in fragmentary form and from sources that might be suspected of bias.

Background

Tolbutamide, marketed by the Upjohn Company as Orinase, represents over half of the oral antidiabetes drug mar-

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ket at more than \$50-million a year. Upjohn has made a major effort to make known dissents from the study group's findings. Some doctors say pressure from the concern has been extreme.

A spokesman for the company denied that there had been any such pressure.

Background

On the other side, the Food and Drug Administration has accepted the university group diabetes program's principal conclusions, but many doctors tend to be suspicious of the government agency in situations like this one.

Explanation

Doctors using the oral drugs for diabetes for years with apparent benefit to their patients find it hard to believe that there might be hidden drawbacks that escaped their notice. On the other hand, doctors in the university group program have an equally compelling commitment to work that they have been doing for nearly a decade.

Background

Other reports to the same session of the diabetes meeting suggested that tolbutamide was useful, but none of these studies was comparable in scope or design to the university group project.

Background

Questions from the floor were often sharply critical of the group's report. A spokesman for the Joslin Clinic, a diabetes center in Boston, said that the university group's findings were contrary to the clinic's own experience over the years.

Conclusion

But the kind of problem that seemed to emerge from the group's statistics would be extremely difficult to detect without a major comparative study of the type made by the 12 university teams. (01970 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission)

Certain words, phrases and sentences were italicized to point out some of the appraisals made by the writer of the article. No one who was not well acquainted with the background of the problem would have been capable of writing such an article.

The concluding paragraph sums up the objective judgment of the writer.

The article could hardly be called subjective, for the author refrains from bias in presenting the two sides of the argument. He uses ample background to enable the reader to understand the cause for the controversy.

A news story on the subject would have been limited to the views expressed at the annual meeting, and a feature or an in-depth story would have given the views of leading contenders on each side of the issue along with some background and ample attribution. The attribution in the above interpretative article is sparse.

Length is not a factor in the interpretative article—the subject, the needed analysis and the required background determine length. As far as organization is concerned, background and explanation are to the interpretative article what supplementation and elaboration are to the in-depth story.